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/65 cont./

124 93 [192] ady, an Arab, who would feel awkward about looking into the unveiled face of a European woman, or a Chinese, who would fall into the most anguished embarrassment if chance showed him her stockingless little foot. It is true, the subject that seems shocking to us gave the Bakairi, men and women, decided pleasure, and if a pedantic ponderer who wants to have modesty in our sense preserved at any price as the innate heritage of humanity would like to conclude from this increased measure of merriment that the bad conscience of a tribe that had sunk from a higher morality was stirring, I can only reply to him that their merry laughter was neither impudent nor did it give the impression of cloaking an inner embarrassment. On the other hand, it undoubtedly had a slightly erotic timbre, and, much as occasion and accompanying circumstances among true primitive peoples must differ, it altogether resembled the laughter that one hears at our spinning-party jokes, at games of forfeit, or other harmless entertainment in the intercourse between the two sexes. For from this same [531] natural joy, as we shall see later, there resulted one of the most common ornaments in their painting, namely, the uluri of the women, represented on numerous implements as the original form of the triangle.

126 I wished to have the uluris made in larger quantities for the collection. Which aroused great merriment. Thus one afternoon there was lively tailoring. We were sitting behind Tumayaua's [252] house, an old woman was baking beijús outside, pouring the flour [524] on the path, spreading it smooth, and /66/ skillfully tossing the [283] finished flat-cake on a sieve, the children licked up pisserego and [259] played catch with feather-decorated maize balls, and four women and girls were twisting the threads out of palm fiber, folding the "little skirts" out of brownish-yellow leaves, and handing me the 126 291 neat work in quantity and in all sizes. The only thing that I must add is that one woman was very baffled and looked about helplessly when I asked for an uluri that she was wearing. But no feeling of modesty related to the exposure had anything to do with this embarrassment; rather, what feeling of modesty was present should be called a physiological one, the existence of which I do not

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Nahuqua

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nothing more than the pubic band with the bark belt holding it. A "Bororó man" was represented by a palm leaf strip folded in the same way and then only a thread tied around it, the waist cord, which he wears besides his cuff and wore long before the invention of the cuff.

The straw figures of the Bakaïrí dance festivals are a special group. I shall have to discuss them in connection with the masks. They represented animals and were worn on the head. Span-long dolls served as children's toys and were also stuck on a pole in the roof of the festival

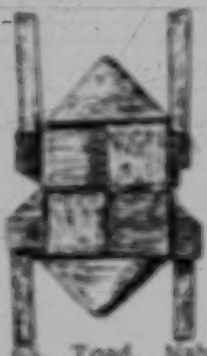

Fig. 65. Toad. Nahuquá. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

but as a sign that a masquerade was being celebrated, they announced to all the world: "Big dance entertainment today."

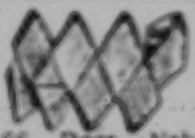

Fig. 66. Deer. Nahuquá. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 67. Woman's and man's figure. Bororó. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

The two little dolls of Figure 68 /see p. 316/ seem to be very expressively summoning one for the merriment. In 1884 we came across larger straw figures, which were not used as headdresses, in front of the second Bakaïrí village on the Batovy. "Shortly before the exit from the woods we came across a wonderful display of about a dozen animal figures along one side of the path, probably the remains from a festival." (They

/280 cont./

were meant to welcome the participants from the neighboring villages.) "They were made of leaves and straw, /281/ mostly quadrupeds with long, thin bodies, consisting of practically nothing but spinal column and long legs. the tallest ones reached to our hips. Something that was evidently supposed to be a monkey was climbing up a pole." (Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, page 168 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 50/.

Fig. 68. Invitation to the dance. Bakaïrí. (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

The maize figures, almost exclusively birds, are extremely characteristic of their enjoyment of art. We found the most attractive examples of them in the second Bakaïrí village. There they hung, almost as large as turkeys, on a long string from the vault of the dome, a strange sight for the person entering, who undoubtedly

Fig. 69. Maize figure: Harpyia destructor. Bakaïrí. (1/10 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

would think of idols and fetishes. But these fine birds were nothing but lovingly trimmed maize ears which were stored in their natural straw husks. I listed figures of Harpia destructor, a large and a small species of falcon, the snake

/281 cont./

295 bird, and the jabiru or giant stork. A human-like figure, a doll
532 with a knob on top instead of a head, represented the imoto
825 dancer in his straw garb. Otherwise there were always birds,
and, to be sure, large birds. Often a pair of genuine tail
feathers were stuck in or a few colored bands painted on the
maize straw. The accompanying Harpia destructor (Fig. 69
/see p. 316/) is characterized by its strong beak and its crest,
the tail feathers are banded with black; the toes are lovingly
made out of twisted straw and where the foot emerges from the
feathers of the leg there is a lashing. More impressive was the
tujuju stork, it hung with wings outspread! A thick maize ear,
as the center section, formed the body, only the stem was not
cut off on it, but rather, projecting far out, formed the some-
what thin, but long beak. On either side eleven maize ears in
[258] a row were clamped between a couple of twigs, and this
beautifully suspended bridge then represented Mycteria americana,
the individual parts of which were broken off one by one and
roasted. Nothing mysterious, nothing symbolic, only a stork
which the Bakairi were very willing to roast crispy for the
astonished European.

524 /282/ Loam dolls. A similar unexpected combination of
532 the beautiful and useful is shown by a heavy, red, loam doll,
261 30 centimeters long, 24 centimeters wide, and seven centi-
meters thick, Fig. 70 /see p. 318/. Four rounded stumps,
which are produced by two lateral and one lower /Fig. 70 ap-
pears here/ indentation in the body lump, are the extremities;
a clumsy, cube-shaped projection, the head. Two little holes,
the eyes; a depression, the mouth sliding sharply downward,
and another little hole, the naval. This red loam thing is an
edible doll for children. It consists of the material which the
Bakairi say their grandfathers consumed before they were ac-
quainted with mandioca. Today the heavy, fat dough is prob-
bably no longer a prized delicacy. The doll is also not very
suitable as a plaything because of its weight. I was told that
children licked it. We found similar dolls made of whitish,
harder, nonedible loam, however, and saw nothing of loam beingg

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/282 cont./ we found clay doll made of whitish, erodible loam, however, and saw making of loam being eaten by the Kalliana Indians, whereas among the Bororó I saw that they absent-mindedly broke off and nibbled little pieces of the wall of the station house in front of which we stood talking.

Fig. 70. Loam doll Bakaïrí. (1/6-1/7 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Among the Bakaïrí we discovered a small female doll of baked clay, which they attributed to the Auetö, the only one of its kind. Among the Auetö themselves we did not find anything similar. The arms are broken off close to the shoulder, the legs somewhat lower

Fig. 71. Clay doll. Auetö. (3/4 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

in the middle of the shapeless, swollen thighs. /283/ Aside from this elephantiasis, the modeling is not bad at all. The torso especially is praiseworthy, the navel is in the right place, and the back, both in

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its course with the furrow of the spine as well as where it ends with a somewhat deeply cut division, is free of all schematization. The head reminds one of that of an Eskimo in its round hood, which is the result, first of all, of the absence of a neck, and then of the shallow depression dug out below the hair line for the face and in which the nose was left standing. In the case of the loam man of the Bakaïrí, it can be seen on closer inspection that there was also a depression (but extremely shallow) for the face.

Wax figures. Again, as in the case of maize, merely an artistic way of preserving the material. The black wax was shaped into pretty little animal figures, and, to be sure, most attractively among the Mehinakú, and thus hung up or placed in a basket until needed. Among the Bakaïrí we found a human figure better modeled than the loam dolls. The civilized Indians converted to Christianity have modified their saints out of wax and sell

Fig. 72. Wax figure: peccary. Mehinakú. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration)./

Fig. 73. Wax figure: karijo dove. Mehinakú. (1/2 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

them. The plastic wax best revealed what the artists could do. Some animals were very well modeled, for instance, the small peccary or tayassu, 6.5 centimeters long, of Figure 72, Dicotyles torquatus. The eyes are represented by a pair of small plates of shell, the nostrils of the proboscis put in deeply. Of other mammals we also saw the large swamp deer and a howling monkey in the form of wax figures. More common were the hanging

/329 cont./

*171 239 301 All feather ornamentation, except for an occasional feather stuck in the ear, especially among the Bakaïrí, belongs to festive occasions, including the solemn reception. It is the same with the feathers as with the body painting.

*171 ●524 Children's games. Among the Bakaïrí we saw catch-balls wadded together out of maize straw; instead of the usual long feather, a tail of maize straw was tied inside. There were rubber balls, huge ones, among the Auetŏ. The sap of a figueira /Ficus/ [314] or the mangabeira is rolled into a little ball on the chest, steeped in water with ashes, and the ball punctured all around in such a way that on the outside it looks as though it were covered with [386] plaiting. The balls are dyed red with urucú.

[324] Tops were made from the unripe peanut (Arachis hypogaea) or mandubí. Twice as big as a cherry, it was pierced and pushed onto a small bamboo stick so that only a small part of the latter emerged, and here it was wound with a tuft of cotton flocks to prevent it from sliding off. The fruit would spin upward on the long handle. Several such tops were set in a pot and made to spin together.

[526] We must count the wrestling described on page 93 among the games of the adults, but children liked to practice wrestling. The same was true, of course, of shooting the bow. We also saw children's throwing-sticks. Older children played with the heavy clay dolls. I was asked several times to perform a sort of test of strength in that I was supposed to lift a boy up in the air with my free arm. I may add here the observation that the Indians were unable to balance a pole on one finger.

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Chapter XII.

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I. Law and Custom. II. Magic.

I. Property. Kinship. Marriage. Morals. Barter. Names. Birth. Couvade and its explanation. Burial.

II. Sorcery in various stages and on various levels of culture. Dream experiences. Pars pro toto. Good and bad medicine-men.

/418 cont./

191 386 [283] White is chalky white clay, a supply of which is kept in the huts in the form of balls the size of a child's head. The women, when they spin, rub it on the right thigh, on which they twist the thread. It is simply mixed with water. It is never used to paint the body; it also falls far back for the implements and appears almost solely on the masks, the painting of which need last but a few days, on painted bark pieces, and the like.

/419/ Charcoal and soot, the berry-pulp of the genipap tree, (Genipa) and a number of resins furnish black. In order to blacken the inside of the gourd shells charcoal from the bark of the buriti shaft is used.

The yellowish-red to brownish-red loam seems to have been [262] 324 [304] driven out by the urucú dyestuff. It was formerly eaten and is still molded into heavy dolls for children and is rubbed on wounds for scarification.

[824] Charcoal and soot are rubbed in directly, like the white, or they are also mixed with liquid, like the urucú. Either the oil from the pikí fruit (Caryocar butyrosum) is used, or the yellow extract containing caoutchouc from a tree of the campo cerrado, which the Bakaïrí call ochogohi and the bark of which is grated and made into an extract with water. The colors are mixed in a gourd shell or a pot or, when a hard resin is broken up with the ax blade, most conveniently in the cup-shaped depression of a stool. Urucú is always found as a paste wrapped in leaves in the little workbasket beside the hammock.

The dyestuffs available to the natives are therefore white, black, red, and yellow. The genipap-black is blue-black, the urucú-red a brick-red to orange, which, mixed with the yellow ochogohi juice, loses a good deal of its red. There are no blue or green dyestuffs.

121 196 The theory that the color sense developed gradually for human beings, based on the fact that color distinction in language is inadequate up to a high level of culture and that blue and green in particular are extraordinarily often designated with the same word, has now been abandoned. It was found among all the primitive peoples investigated that they distinguish excellently